

The Church Peace Union

(Founded by Andrew Carnegie)



*Report of
The General Secretary
for the Year 1932*



70 Fifth Avenue
New York

January

1933

SY41
C475
1932



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Report of the General Secretary
to the Nineteenth Annual
Meeting of the Board of Trustees

December 1, 1932



70 Fifth Avenue
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REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY
FOR THE YEAR 1932
presented
DECEMBER 1, 1932
to the
TRUSTEES OF THE CHURCH PEACE UNION:

Greetings:

I have the honor to submit the following report for the year ending December 31, 1932.

The tragic situation in which the world finds itself today is the direct result of war and all the foolish and futile attempts to shift the responsibility to other causes only delays ultimate recovery. World-wide want, misery and hopeless despair are driving humanity to the brink of the bottomless abyss of anarchy. It is no longer an academic question between militarism and peace, but a life and death struggle in which all nations and all the interests of mankind are involved. A way must be found to avert war or there is no hope for the future.

The way out is through a program involving three issues:

1. Disarmament.
2. Adjustment of inter-governmental debts and other economic relationships.
3. Perfecting the world organization for peace, by supplementing and strengthening the machinery.

It is to these three questions that the largest proportion of time and attention has been devoted by The Church Peace Union during the year.

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DISARMAMENT

This question has had first place in our thinking, our program and our activities. During the fifteen years that I have been connected with the organization we have been constantly at work upon this question. Among our trustees, a number have long been recognized as having an authoritative position in regard to it. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson's voice was heard on this subject years before any considerable number of men and women realized the real significance of the relationship between an armed world and the inevitability of war. Professor William I. Hull, in writing and talking on this subject, has made a place for himself that is unique. Others on the Board have had a similar interest. In December 1920 we appointed a Committee on Disarmament and the following year the World Alliance appointed a like committee. These two met and elected a joint chairman and have served with effectiveness since that time.

Under the arrangement with our staff by which we assign responsibilities for particular tasks to particular individuals, Mr. Gordon undertook to serve as Secretary of this joint commission. At the same time he began an intensive study of the question of Disarmament. Both he and the committee have produced a quantity of interesting and helpful material, a list of which is as follows:

1. Mimeographed 160,000 copies of a letter regarding the Washington Conference signed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the Orthodox Synagogue of America. This was sent to all the preachers in the United States, together with 160,000 postal cards bearing petition to be signed.
2. Twenty-three thousand signatures of clergymen were received and printed in a volume that was formally presented to the Conference.
3. Printed broadside, newspaper size, containing excerpts of letter from General Tasker H. Bliss and others calling for reduction of armament.

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4. A monthly magazine "World Friendship" devoted almost exclusively to this question.
5. Pamphlets on treaties, agreements and declarations of the Washington Conference.
6. Volume of 16,000 signatures petitioning Senate and House to ratify the treaties of the Washington Conference.
7. The Geneva Conference on Naval Armaments (pamphlet).
8. What Individuals Can Do to Further the Aims of the Geneva Conference on Naval Armaments (pamphlet).
9. Armament—Expressions from Some Leaders of Public Thought in the United States (pamphlet).
10. Five-Power Conference on Naval Armaments (pamphlet).
11. The London Naval Treaty (pamphlet).
12. Bigger Guns or Better Homes? (pamphlet).
13. Varieties of Pacifism (Charles Edward Jefferson—A statement on Armaments).
14. Fighting Fire with Fire—Major General John F. O'Ryan (pamphlet).
15. America's International Experiment—Prof. William I. Hull (pamphlet).
16. Resolution adopted by Laymen's Advisory Committee of the World Alliance dealing with the World Disarmament Conference.
17. Pamphlet on Disarmament published March, 1931.
18. Eight letters from Geneva written by the General Secretary, syndicated to the religious press of America and printed in some thirty-nine publications.
19. Innumerable special articles and books by members of staff and Board of Trustees.
20. The "News-Letter" established in 1923 and since then issued bi-monthly. Its files give a very good history of our efforts in this field.



When the Disarmament Conference met in Geneva February 2, 1932, it was however under extremely unfavorable conditions. The general economic crisis, the political and governmental uncertainty in a large number of the more important countries of the world, and the air of pessimism and deep-seated cynicism which focused upon Geneva, all cast a deep shadow upon the meeting.

As the nations, through their accredited spokesmen, presented their points of view in the first weeks of the Conference, it became evident that while every nation asserted its peaceful intention and expressed willingness to disarm, each so magnified the difficulties, and so defined its own needs, as to make little or no progress possible.

The first success of the Conference was achieved through the massing at Geneva of the public opinion of the world. The great demonstration which was held, in which representatives of the women of the world, the workers, the students, the youth, and the religions of the world expressed their opinion, helped to dispel much of the pessimism, and at the same time impressed upon the responsible delegates the fact that some two hundred million people were vocal for the first time in a meeting of this kind. It also assured the Conference that the people of all nations are sick and tired of war, and demand of their governments that they help put an end to the means that make war possible.

The American Delegation, through Mr. Hugh Gibson, then made its proposal that the way to prevent aggressive warfare is to get rid of the weapons of aggression, and thus the Conference was led into a new phase of its existence.

The first adjournment was taken in March with little accomplished except that people everywhere had come to see more clearly the difficulties inherent in the problem and how intricate the details are that have to be considered. The American proposals bluntly stated, had helped to bring out these differences and difficulties. In the hands of the experts the difficulties, instead of being solved, were magnified.

The Conference met again and resumed its discussions, and then the Hoover Proposals were presented, calling for an immediate reduction of one third of all armed forces and war budgets. This practical proposal became the basis of all discussion from that time on to the present.

Tangled up with the whole discussion and forming one of the major difficulties were the statements by the various nations, each of which expressed an ideal that the others were not willing to accept. Roughly speaking, there were two points of view: one expressed by the Soviet Government and supported more or less warmly by Persia, Turkey, Italy, Spain and Germany in a half-hearted manner. This was the absolutist point of view. Russia proposed the abolition of all arms and armaments. In other words, complete and immediate disarmament. At the opposite extreme was the French Proposal, that disarmament of the individual nations be achieved by pooling all arms and armaments and bringing them under international control. The League of Nations would thus have at its command every soldier and sailor, every battleship, every gun, every tank, every airplane and would control all the munition factories. This vast array of force could be used at the will of the League in preventing war. If the French idea were carried out you would have a perfected League to enforce peace with all the available force of the world at its command. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and some of the other nations ranged themselves with more or less enthusiasm by the side of France. The majority of the nations and all of the other great powers took the middle course, half way between these two. It has been widely heralded that the Soviet Government was the only Government that was willing to immediately disarm. This statement is inaccurate. While it is true that the Soviet Government made the most radical proposals, she never said once that she was willing to disarm by herself as an example to the rest of the world. In fact no nation said this. I doubt, with conditions as they are in the world today, that any great nation is prepared to make such a statement. At the very time that Litvinoff was

proposing to the rest of the world joint action by which the nations would completely disarm, the Soviet Government of Russia was holding one of the largest military reviews ever organized, and thus giving a demonstration of its power, both actual and potential.

The statements of view of the nations on Disarmament was of value as an educational process if for no other reason. No nation during the Conference expected that its viewpoint would be upheld by the other. All the Powers were playing for position. Every representative knew how to achieve disarmament; all the nations wanted disarmament, but fear and greed and suspicion paralyzed every attempt to secure effective action.

At last the Conference was adjourned to meet again early in 1933. Before adjourning, it adopted a Resolution which records slight gains with considerable promises for the future. Will these promises be made good? The Conference has not been a great success up to the present time, but there were agreements in principle which do not in the least prejudice the possibility of more significant and far-reaching agreements that may hereafter be achieved. These include however (and this point should not be lost sight of) refining and curtailing the area and scope of war rather than striking at the attempt to extirpate the war system itself, which is dependent upon arms and war preparations now going on in all the nations.

The fact is that we are now face to face with the anomalous situation of a world under arms and prepared for war as never before and at the same time all the nations are bound by an agreement written into the Briand Kellogg Pact not to make war. Under the Pact of Paris, there is no place for war and war making, and by the parity of reasoning there is no place for the huge armies and navies and the enormous annual expenditure for their maintenance. What a contradiction. Every nation of any importance signatory to a Pact outlawing war and yet all of them together spending five billion dollars a year preparing for war. No wonder the war makers are not alarmed. No

wonder that those groups in every nation who are looking eagerly for the time when the present type of industrial civilization will break itself to pieces and give place to a new social order view with satisfaction what is now going on. No wonder the cynic sneers as he sees the exposure of this worldwide hypocrisy.

More than at any other time in the history of the world, I believe our civilization is at the crossing of the ways. Either the nations must disarm down to the level of a mere police force within each nation, and provide adequate means for international action to restrain the covenant breaker, or we must renounce the anti-war pacts such as the Pact of Paris, the Locarno Treaties and others, and each nation fall back upon the old principle of self reliance, develop its armed forces to their full, and attempt as best each can to maintain his position in the midst of a world that has become one great armed camp. There is no middle course. If we do not deal in a drastic fashion with this question of arms, these weapons themselves will destroy us and all our works.

Therefore, the next phase of the Disarmament Conference is of major importance to The Church Peace Union and to all the groups who are working in the same field. It is of interest to note that there has been a growing conviction on the part of the Trustees during these last few years that the only way out of the armament *impasse* is through a firm stand for the total abolition of all arms and armaments down to the level of a police force.

WAR DEBTS AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The second important issue that must be faced immediately is the question of debts and all that is involved in the economic relationships between the nations. Whether or not Europe can pay the debts owed to the United States, or ought to pay them, are matters of minor importance. The question is—"How will these debts affect the relationships between the nations in the years that are to come?"

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The Church Peace Union and The World Alliance have given considerable attention to this question, recognizing that it is fundamental to any sound readjustment and recovery from the present depression. In 1930, at the meeting of the Goodwill Congress held in Washington, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:

“In view of the present economic depression involving all nations in a common calamity, we beg to suggest a careful study of the economic relations of nations as they affect the task and problems of peace, as well as the reconsideration of such issues as Allied debts, reparations, immigration quotas, and the like—issues which make for irritation, misunderstanding and actual ill-will, and thus hinder the growth of that goodwill which is the best security against war and the truest assurance of peace.”

It is not the responsibility of organizations like The Church Peace Union to work out the details of a settlement of these economic questions, but it is incumbent upon us to recognize their fundamental significance and the ethical and religious values which demand a speedy and just solution.

It is in line with this conception that The Church Peace Union is working for a wide distribution of the book—“THE CAUSES OF WAR,” published during this year. A Study Course of twelve lessons, based on this book has been published and efforts are being made to have it adopted for study in a large number of centers throughout the United States. In this manner The Church Peace Union is cooperating with the International Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion. This book, which embodies the Report of Commission No. 1, offers the best possible opportunity for a sane discussion of the economic questions involved in world peace, and at the same time, indicates a method of approach to their solution, and furnishes the material out of which a general program can be formulated.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

When we come to the third problem, that is, strengthening the world organizations for peace, we are face to face with the task that has within it, strong elements for a unification of program, and at the same time elements that make for controversy and develop differences of opinion. Unfortunately, the League of Nations is still a subject of controversy in America, and although the majority of the people of the United States are favorable to this nation entering the World Court, we have not been able to secure the necessary votes in the Senate to bring about the result.

The Briand-Kellogg Pact has made easier our approach to this problem of world organization. This Pact by which the nations renounce war, as a part of their national policy, involves and makes necessary, a further step toward world organization. If the nations have agreed to settle their disputes by peaceful means, peaceful means must be provided by which the disputes can be settled. If any nation refuses to accept these peaceful means, and insists on going to war, then the other nations must decide what their attitude will be. Any contract becomes null and void when one party to the contract breaks it. In community and national life, a broken contract is recognized as a breach of faith, and constitutes a case that must be settled by law. The Courts decide the issue and assess damages and means of restitution. The same thing must be provided if the peace of the world is to be guaranteed. This principle is recognized today by all the nations and has been tacitly agreed to by our government. Mr. Stimson, in his letter to Senator Borah, and in his speech on August 8, 1932, before the Council of Foreign Affairs, clearly stated this principle. The French in the new Disarmament Proposals, as a valid guaranty of security against war, accept the statement of the United States that it will meet with the other nations to confer as to the proper method to be pursued in case any nation, or group of nations, break their word as given under their pledge in the Pact of Paris. This

involves more than appears on the surface, and as Mr. Stimson has pointed out, and everyone must recognize, after agreeing that all are parties to the "No War Pact," any nation refusing arbitration, or to submit its case to arbitration, is *ipso facto*, breaking its pledge and becomes the aggressor. In such a case, all the nations signatory to the No War Pact, must unite in plans which are agreed upon for meeting the situation. Any nation refusing will range itself alongside the aggressor.

A further far-reaching implication is in the statement which is adopted by the League of Nations and has also been written into the latest French Plan for Disarmament. That is the statement now generally known as the "Hoover Doctrine." i.e. "We will not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement, nor any gains, commercial, geographical or otherwise, brought about by any nation or group of nations, in violation of their accepted international agreements."

In the development of methods for meeting international crises the old idea of force is giving way before the creation of peaceful means of settlement. The Articles in the Covenant of the League of Nations, dealing with the sanctions that may be used against a law breaking nation are less effective today than ever before. In the crisis between China and Japan, the nations found themselves helpless to use even the meager force they had at their command. A peaceful solution cannot be brought about by forceful means. There are peaceful sanctions that may be employed on an international scale, but even these will fall into the background as the nations together develop world machinery for immediate and effective dealing with any given situation.

All of this brings us back to the relation of the United States to the League of Nations. There is no need for America to try to escape its responsibility. Membership in the League is the logical outcome of all our thinking and cooperative international action. It is the most appropriate piece of machinery to deal with world affairs of all kinds and the success of its

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efforts fully justify its existence. The whole question of American relationship to the League must be faced anew and a way found by which we can become members with full responsibility and full privileges. The first step toward this consummation is for us to join the Court of International Justice at The Hague. Inasmuch as both political parties recognized the Court in their Platform, and urged American membership therein, this matter should be attended to by the forthcoming session of Congress without delay.

RESPONSIBILITY OF TRUSTEES

These then, are the primary interests to which we have given attention in our Program. We now turn to a consideration of our activities. The Trustees of The Church Peace Union are responsible to themselves, to the community, to the nation, and in this measure to the world for the way in which our trust is administered and our Program carried out. It is only fair therefore to ask:

Is The Church Peace Union doing something that would not be done if it did not exist?

Is it carrying on its work in the best way?

Is it getting results commensurate with the efforts expended?

A careful study of our program and consideration of the activities of our organization will I believe answer these questions in such a way as to justify us, in continuing our present policy. I think we will be prepared to agree that what we need is neither a change of objective nor a new program, but an intensification of our efforts in certain directions.

The Church Peace Union holds a favorable position of leadership among the peace agencies, not only of America, but of the world. When we began, the Church Peace Union stood almost alone in the field. There was no concerted activity on

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the part of the churches, and no program relating to international affairs. During these last fifteen years, there has developed a growing consciousness among churches and peace leaders that the effort to eliminate war is of primary importance in the work of the churches. I believe that no one can justly say that the Church Peace Union has created a machine but has failed to secure results from the operation of that machine. This report which embodies not only the record of the year 1932, but is in a measure a survey of fifteen years' service in this field, I think, answers this question adequately.

The first responsibility of the organization is for work here in America. Our own country by its position, its resources, and history, is recognized everywhere today as one of the chief factors in determining the future of peace and war. America holds a strategic position in the struggle that is going on between the forces of militarism and those organizations that have been built up and that spirit that is necessary to eliminate war as a means of settling international disputes.

WORK IN AMERICA

What is The Church Peace Union doing at home? That is the question that is of paramount importance. If America is well informed and thinks straight on the questions of international co-operation and acts intelligently, all the other nations will find it much easier to do the thing that they want to do, but are now hindered from doing because of fear and suspicion.

In detailing the work of our organization in America, I want to pay a tribute to my associates in the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance. Mr. Gordon has been associated with the Church Peace Union almost from the beginning. He and I have worked side by side on all the various problems. Together we have shaped programs. Together we have carried out as best we could, the will of our organization.

Since 1921, Miss Barker has had charge of the office admin-

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istration and in addition has assumed her full share of responsibility and labor as Assistant Secretary of the Union. Through the period of reorganization when we were bringing the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance into a common unity of administration and effort, she carried much of the heavy load of the details. Since then she has devoted herself to our cause with zeal and energy. Miss Barker is not only a genius in getting work done, but her judgment is invaluable in helping to determine courses of action.

In 1925 the World Alliance and Church Peace Union were reorganized, at which time Fred B. Smith and Harry N. Holmes were brought into the organization. Mr. Smith was elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alliance, and through a working agreement between us, he assumed the major responsibility in directing the affairs of the American branch of the World Alliance. Mr. Holmes at the same time was made Field Secretary. This arrangement enabled the program of the two organizations to become almost identical, and in our contacts in the field we have presented a united front.

During these years, the Executive members of the staff have worked together in harmony and with joy in the common undertaking. By common consent, there is a division of responsibility and work between the members of the staff, which has given us, we believe, greater efficiency than could have been secured otherwise.

In reporting on the work of the organization, I could not fail to mention the devoted service of the young women serving in secretarial positions and as routine office assistants. Each one of them is as devoted to the work we are doing as any of the principals. I confidently believe that a careful survey of the administration of our affairs together with the cost, would compare favorably with commercial, social and educational as well as the most efficient business organizations.

I take the time to report on these facts because of the economic situation and the drastic changes that are being demanded on

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every hand. The Church Peace Union is fortunate in having an endowment to fall back on in these days. This provision which makes it possible for us to continue our work places a new and heavier responsibility upon us to see that every dollar spent is wisely spent, and that our program is carried out with even greater efficiency than under ordinary times and conditions.

ITEMS OF SERVICE

The Church Peace Union is serving in the following ways:

1. By helping the church to understand its significant peace mission.
2. By literature, pamphlet and committee work, to bring an intelligent understanding of the imperative need of peace to the people of America.
3. By publicity organization and education to make statesmen and Congress aware of the passion for peace in the churches of the country.
4. By miniature peace conferences or field days held at various points all over the country to stimulate a deeper interest in the peace program.
5. By cooperation and message to stimulate the interest on the part of young people of the churches and universities in this question.

DIFFICULTIES

The greatest difficulty the organization encounters is in its efforts to translate the will and desire for peace into governmental action. There seems to be such a gulf between what the people want and making that will effective in registered national decisions.

Our greatest failure perhaps lies in the realm of arousing the average church member to the challenge and imperative urgency of this question.

I believe that the greatest need of our time is expressed in the introduction to "The Causes of War" where the editor says

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that the most imperative fact revealed in that book is the identity of the principles always preached by the great religious leaders. The principles taught by every great religion are the principles taught by every good modern economist and political and industrial authority. Instead of the church's vision of world peace being "mystical" and "impractical" these principles are now acknowledged as the only practical basis on which the modern world can be run. If that fact could be commonly understood it would be an immense advance.

COOPERATING CENTERS

The Church Peace Union and World Alliance have established a large number of cooperating centers. The following is the list of such centers given by states:

State	No.	State	No.	State	No.
Alabama	4	Maryland	20	Rhode Island	7
Arizona	5	Massachusetts	41	S. Carolina	1
Arkansas	2	Michigan	21	South Dakota	3
California	50	Minnesota	11	Tennessee	9
Colorado	13	Mississippi	3	Texas	18
Connecticut	26	Missouri	19	Utah	3
Delaware	3	Montana	4	Vermont	5
D. of C.	7	Nebraska	12	Virginia	7
Florida	3	New Hamp.	8	Washington	17
Georgia	5	New Jersey	45	W. Virginia	2
Idaho	3	New Mexico	1	Wisconsin	10
Illinois	67	New York	123	Wyoming	4
Indiana	23	N. Carolina	9	Philippines	6
Iowa	26	North Dakota	3	Hawaii	7
Kansas	10	Ohio	72	Canada	3
Kentucky	14	Oklahoma	6	Foreign	2
Louisiana	3	Oregon	10		
Maine	10	Pennsylvania	68	Total	844

These centers are effective instruments for carrying out the program and furnish an efficient constituency for its support. Through these centers we are able to appeal to local political representatives, to organize meetings, and to prepare and publish statements in the local press. They form study groups on ques-

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tions of general interest such as Disarmament, the World Court, Sanctions, etc.

Through these centers we are able to distribute the literature and the messages of the Alliance.

One group organized an Armistice day service in every public school in its city, and sent out a message signed by leaders of the Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths.

Another group organized a yearly world friendship banquet.

Another introduced a program looking to world-mindedness in the schools.

These groups are always ready to help to carry on any specific and emergency campaign in behalf of world peace.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Another important piece of work is that of helping to create and make effective the work of a group of Canadian and American Committees along the border between the United States and Canada. Each year there is an exchange of pulpits across this border. Several hundred men from both sides occupy the pulpits of the churches in the neighboring country. There is a Cooperating Committee in Canada appointed by the Canadian Council of the World Alliance in cooperation with our own committee. A number of special conferences have been held and the Field Day in Cleveland during this last year was a marked success.

In preparing this report I asked the other members of the staff to give me their criticisms and opinions on certain outstanding factors of our work. Miss Barker's statement covers so succinctly the work of our organization for the past twelve years, that I am venturing to include it as a part of this report.

Miss Barker says:

"I believe that our greatest difficulty lies in counteracting

the apathy, inertia and ignorance of the general public. Our chief task is to keep continually alive the interest aroused by our conventions, campaigns and field days. The people go away from these events deeply inspired. Our job is to keep them inspired. In some way or other we allow this inspiration to evaporate. Much has been done through the community workers meetings following our conventions, and the field days and auxiliary conventions we have held have helped. But I believe we could do more.

"Looking back, however, over our efforts the fact that the United States has still not joined the World Court and the fact that no way has yet been found for the full co-operation of the United States with the League of Nations, would seem to constitute the greatest failures of our own and other peace organizations.

"It is rather a sad commentary that we have been hammering at the first item for these many years and still have not achieved our purpose—perhaps because there has not been sufficient concerted effort.

"To make our work more effective it seems to me (as I sit in the office!) that our speakers should go more 'into the highways and byways' of the country—the small towns which seldom hear outside speakers on any international subject. We have a rare opportunity here with audiences that are not blasé! Let our field workers visit these smaller rural communities. Are we not preaching too often to the converted and covering the same ground too much?

"The Information Service so often receives eager requests for help and educational material from some of these rural communities which know so little of what is going on, or of how to reach the instruction and information they are keen to have presented to them. Might it not be worthwhile to include these in some of our speaking tours? I believe we demonstrated the value of going to the small towns in the middle and northwest in our three campaigns for International Cooperation.

"I believe we should cooperate more closely than we have done with organizations working for the same object as we are, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and overlapping. Some of this is inevitable but much could be avoided if we knew more of each others programmes and

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plans through occasional conference. We haven't time to read all each others detailed reports, consequently we sometimes plan similar programmes *as units* which might perhaps be so much more effective as a combined effort. This is particularly true when any especially grave or urgent question has to be dealt with."

Miss Barker's report, given by years from 1921 to 1932 inclusive, is attached as Appendix I to this report and constitutes a special section; as also does the World Alliance Platform for 1933, Appendix II.

COOPERATION

The program of the World Alliance cannot be carried out except in cooperation with other organizations. Our relationships with other groups have always been most cordial. We are in constant communication with the following organizations with whom we consult, exchange views and literature, and have arranged many campaigns, conferences and meetings, by joint action:

World Peace Foundation.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
League of Nations Association.
National Council for the Prevention of War.
American Committee on Japanese Relations.
Foreign Policy Association.
English Speaking Union.
National Council on Disarmament.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Young Women's Christian Association.
World's Christian Endeavor Movement.
International Institute of Education.
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

COMMITTEE ON INTERCHANGE OF SPEAKERS

This Committee was organized in New York City in 1918. It grew out of a desire on the part of religious leaders in Great Britain and the United States to banish misunderstanding and

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misrepresentation between the two countries. It has since been enlarged to include all other countries. Since it was organized it has served to introduce to this country, preachers and speakers from the following lands:

Australia	6	Hungary	1
Czechoslovakia	1	New Zealand	1
France	6	Norway	1
Germany	2	Sweden	1
Great Britain	68		

All of these men have been given the opportunity of speaking in the principal cities before universities, clubs, and church groups throughout America. No one part of our organization has been more effective and produces greater results than this committee. At the same time the committee has been instrumental in sending to Europe as its special representatives, 86 American preachers and university men.

COMMITTEE ON MINORITIES

The work of this committee has been reported from year to year by your General Secretary. During this last year, several meetings of the committee were held. Special attention was given to the possibility of closer cooperation with the section of the League charged with the responsibility for the Rights of Minorities. The Management Committee of the International body of the Alliance at its meeting in Geneva in September, created a World Committee to deal with the question of minorities. Our American Committee heartily supports the appeal which is being made to the League of Nations to establish a department of minorities which will be adequate to the importance of this question. Such a department would be commensurate with the proportions of the International Labor Bureau, although it would not require such a large expenditure, nor would it deal with such a wide range of technical subjects. The question of minorities is, however, one of the more fundamental problems with which the peace forces must deal.

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THE WORLD PROGRAM

The Church Peace Union divides itself naturally into two spheres—what we are doing at home, and what we are doing abroad. The program, however, in spirit and purpose, is one.

Having considered in detail the work in America, we turn to the work abroad. It is principally through the International organization of the World Alliance that we are functioning in other lands. Here is our natural basis of cooperation. However, it is evident that with the growing importance of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion, we are reaching a wider area. For instance, in Japan and India, the organization, which includes other religions, is much more effective than the more limited organization which is possible under the World Alliance.

The Church Peace Union is the sole support of the International World Alliance. Without it this organization could not last a single month. The effort to secure a measure of support from the Councils in other countries has met with a degree of success which is encouraging, but so far the total paid by the Councils from other countries is almost insignificant compared with the needs of the organization. Unfortunately, the funds available for the work of the Church Peace Union are so limited that we cannot give as much for this world organization as it needs and could use with efficiency.

The Church Peace Union has also been helping to support the work of the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work. From 1920, when the plans for the Stockholm Conference began to take form, it was recognized by The Church Peace Union that here was a movement that had in it possibilities of great good. The Church Peace Union loaned the services of the General Secretary to that movement, and for twelve years I have served as chief executive officer. In addition to this service, which cost the Stockholm Movement nothing, The Church Peace Union also paid travelling expenses and made a substantial cash

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contribution each year to the work. We have been able to bring about an amalgamation between the Stockholm Movement and the World Alliance. Joint offices have now been arranged and a joint secretary appointed, and much of the work will be carried out in cooperation. The responsibility therefore, of The Church Peace Union, for the Stockholm Movement came to an end on September 1st. Our organization from now on, will be free to concentrate its efforts upon the particular task assumed by the World Alliance for Europe, and the task of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion, which deals with the wider field, embracing as it does, all the religions of the world.

The Alliance has made considerable progress during the year. It is evident now that the Councils of the Alliance are ceasing to be mere organizations composed of a few members widely scattered, but are becoming centers of real influence and are carrying out effective programs.

Following the Conference held in Cambridge in 1931, the Councils in most of the countries interested themselves in plans for the celebration of one Sunday in the year to be known as "Peace Sunday." Definite work among young people and children has been undertaken by the Alliance in practically every country. In Great Britain there is a Committee for "Youth Work." A number of young Germans were entertained during the last year as the guests of the organization. In France, under the supervision of Mme. Jézéquel, arrangements were made by the French Committee for entertaining in Berlin, a number of German children as their guests. A Youth Conference was held this last summer in Gland, near Geneva, attended by some forty or fifty young people representing nearly all of our Councils. The Committee in Germany has busied itself especially in the work in the schools and is making an earnest effort to bring the young people into contact with the work for peace at Geneva and in other parts of the world.

The Councils are carrying on an extensive propaganda for

peace. Every one of the different groups shows a commendable advance. In Japan, in spite of the present difficult circumstances, the Council has held regular meetings during the year, and has entertained a number of distinguished visitors from abroad. It has also published a series of pamphlets, one on the Disarmament problem and another on the history of the World Alliance in that country, and urging the churches to cooperate and not lose hope in the work of the Japanese Council.

A Regional Conference was held in China, promoted by the Japanese World Alliance, when half a dozen of the leaders of the Japanese Council went to Shanghai and there conferred with the members of the Chinese Council. In spite of the stress and strain between these two nations, the World Alliance is keeping interest in the peace movement alive and is hoping that out of the present misunderstandings there may grow a firm friendship, and that the religious forces of these great nations may become a decisive force in helping to stabilize peace in the Far East.

At a meeting of the Management Committee held in Geneva in August, a strong Resolution was passed on the question of Disarmament, and at that time reports were given from all the Councils showing their definite interest in this cause. The gist of the Resolution is stated in the following words:

"The World Alliance expresses with deep sorrow the feeling of bitter disillusionment in face of the fact that the Disarmament Conference has not yet reached any satisfactory result in spite of discussions which have lasted for six months.

It expresses with a feeling of deep concern its conviction that a failure of this Conference would inflict terrible injury not only upon international trade and international peace, but also upon the churches and their work. It insists that in order to obtain a permanent solution of the problem of Disarmament it is necessary first to accept the principle that all states concerned shall be considered as having equal rights and responsibilities, and secondly, to extend the provision for preventing by mutual conference and other avail-

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able peaceful means a breach of the peace and thus building up a system of moral guarantees for security which must prove irresistible."

This Resolution has been sent out by the Chairman of the Management Committee to every one of the Councils and forms the basis for the work that is to be continued throughout this winter.

At the meeting in Geneva the World Alliance elected Rev. H. L. Henriod as general administrative secretary and the central office was formally established in Geneva. The two Branch offices, one in Berlin, the other in Paris, for which the Church Peace Union is responsible, are doing splendid work under the guidance of the secretaries, Professor Siegmund-Schultze in Berlin and Pasteur Jézéquel in Paris.

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE THROUGH RELIGION

The progress of this movement is steady and the interest is constantly increasing. The report which follows was prepared by the Chairman of the International Committee, Dr. Shailer Mathews:

"The Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion met at Geneva on August 16-18. Fifty members were in attendance. The meetings showed fine spirit and the general discussion showed the wisdom of presenting necessary data through reports of special commissions.

1. The report of Commission I on Causes of War had been published and was in the hands of the members. The reception accorded to it was cordial and the Committee expressed its gratitude for the very efficient cooperation of Ruth Cranston, Secretary of the Commission, and Arthur Porritt, Chairman of the Publications Committee.

The report of Commission II on Spiritual Resources Avail-

able for Preventing War was given by the secretary in the absence of the Chairman, the Count Hubert de Monbrison.

The report of Commission III giving a general survey of the peace movement within various religions was made by Dr. Neander of Sweden. This report was supplemented by *viva voce* reports of the work of bodies devoted to the production of international good-will in different parts of the world. Particularly interesting were the reports from Japan and India.

The report of Commission IV on Proposed Action was presented by the chairman, and adopted.

2. The meetings of the Committee this year had two marked characteristics. The first was frankness in discussion. The presentation of the reports made it clear to the Committee that the adoption of plans was to be made by the Committee itself. No restriction was put upon the length of speeches except by the will of the Committee. The result was a general participation in discussion and the increased appreciation of the undertaking as a cooperative task.

Another characteristic was cooperative spirit. The successive annual meetings of the Committee have developed friendships and mutual understanding which have made the sessions enjoyable. This combination of frankness and cooperation became more evident and more delightful as the sessions proceeded.

3. The most important outcome of the meeting of the Committee was its discovery that in planning for a World Conference it had initiated a world movement. The Directors of the Century of Progress Fair in Chicago invited us to hold the Conference in 1933 in Chicago. When, however, the situation was thoroughly canvassed it became plain that what we had planned to do *after* the Conference we were now doing *before* the Conference; that is to say, organizing groups of those in different countries and different religions who are interested in peace. Such a program is obviously an extension of the purpose for which the Church Peace Union was founded, and for which the Conference

was planned. The realization of this significance of the work of the Committee came almost as a surprise but it was even more a great encouragement. In the light of the growing interest already aroused in different countries it is plain that a World Conference would be vastly more effective as heading up this movement rather than as we originally planned, initiating it. The representatives from India, in particular, felt that the importance of our participating in the development of their inter-religious group and in the entire discussion of the Committee without any guidance, centered around a widespread and promotional movement as outlined in the report of Commission IV.

If this interpretation of the situation be correct, it is obvious that we have taken first steps in a movement of world-wide significance. From it the Conference will naturally grow just as soon as the financial situation will permit us to finance it. But wholly apart from financial matters, the magnitude of the opportunity which we confront is impressive.

4. A Conference springing from a well organized movement will be more influential than a Conference without a movement. During the next year special effort should be made to set up the program contained in the report of Commission IV which was adopted by the Committee. These recommendations are as follows:

"In making its suggestions Commission IV is assuming that among the various religions there will be found individuals who are sincerely interested in the furthering of a better understanding between nations. Such persons may very well constitute a nucleus of influence within a given area and religious connection. Whether official action in the interest of international peace is possible within a religion will depend upon many considerations, but even when taken, official action will be more effective if it follows the line of properly aroused opinion.

"In accordance with these considerations, the Commission makes the following recommendations to the Conference as

initial steps in what it is hoped will become a continuously developing program on the part of the membership of the various religions.

"1. It is recommended that within the various geographical or political units there be formed central committees composed of those of various religious affiliations who are interested in furthering international peace. These committees should be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion. Their members should come from as large a number of religious groups as possible. They should be the center of whatever action is taken within a political unit relative to the utilization of religion for developing international good-will. Such committees will become the leaven of good-will between religions themselves and so help on that attitude of cooperation which must be presupposed by any cooperation between nations.

"Membership in such committees would not imply unity of religious belief, but only a common desire to bring about international peace. Their purpose is not that of the discussion of religion, but that of facing the practical problems involved in a primary purpose.

"It is further suggested that in countries where the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches has its committees, they either become or be included in such committees.

"2. It is recommended that in each religion within a political unit there be organized a committee of like-minded persons who will undertake to develop an interest in international peace among their co-religionists. These committees should nominate members of the Central Committee of a geographical or political unit. In such efforts there should be cooperation with any organizations which may already have been organized in the interest of peace in a particular religious body.

"3. It is recommended that an effort be made to organize

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International Committees within a religion that extends across the limits of political boundaries.

"4. It is recommended that all these committees be authorized to send delegates to the World Conference and to share in the formation of the Executive Committee by nominating persons who may be chosen as its members.

"5. It is recommended that each Central Committee and other Committees prepare literature particularly fitted for its constituency, which can be used in study classes or in some other educational way. This literature should be centered around such elements of each religion as emphasize good will. So far as possible, it should avoid distinct political issues, and where that is impossible, should emphasize the moral aspects of the issue.

"6. It is recommended that the Executive Committee of the World Conference prepare or have prepared literature in which the moral aspect of war and peace are set forth. Such literature should be translated into other languages besides that in which it is written, wherever needed, and circulated before the meeting of the World Conference, in cooperation with such of the above committees as shall be organized.

"7. It is recommended that in preparation for the holding of the World Conference, interreligious local conferences should be held in different centers of population. Such preliminary conferences should be chiefly concerned with drawing up memorials for the World Conference, setting forth desired actions on the part of that body. In so doing these various groups should recognize that while the Conference is fundamentally religious, it especially needs information and suggestions as to how religious groups can further the cause of international peace."

FINANCE

In these days of stress the demands have been exceedingly heavy; we have, however, tried throughout the year to keep our

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budget at the lowest possible point. Many of the organizations with whom we are cooperating have found such difficulty in financing themselves that we have been called upon for larger expenditures than were anticipated.

In the new budget presented for the coming year a provision is being made for a saving at many points. We are faced with the demands of a continuing program, a growing work and have at our disposal funds that are inadequate.

Your staff will heartily cooperate in any plans that are voted whereby we may make such adjustments as will not materially weaken our efforts.

CONCLUSION

Before concluding this report I wish to thank the Trustees for the splendid support given the executive officers. We have been united on the essential things—we have a strong effective program and we are pushing forward in our work as best we know how.

Never before were there so many demands and never has the world been faced with a such a serious situation as that which confronts us at the present time. With the almost complete breakdown of our economic system on a world-wide scale; with a growing sense of bafflement on the part of men and women in all lands, this is a time that calls for new faith and new courage—and if religion cannot help to create a new spirit of endeavour and a new will to peace, it will fail. Not only do the times challenge us but they offer us an unparalleled opportunity to help to save humanity from the curse of war and at the same time religion will vindicate itself as it could in no other way.

It is in the line of this ideal that our program was formulated and it is in the determination to make the program effective that we continue.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY A. ATKINSON

General Secretary

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APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF THE WORK OF THE CHURCH PEACE UNION AND WORLD ALLIANCE

1921 — 1932

1921 was a significant year in the history of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance. A monster petition gathered by the Church Peace Union and signed by 20,500 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish ministers urging the calling of a Conference for the Limitation of Armament was presented to the President, and it was felt that this document was one of the decisive factors that influenced the President to call the Washington Conference in December 1921.

The annual Convention for this year was held in Chicago, Illinois, on "Reduction of Armaments."

Part of 1922 was devoted to urging prompt ratification of the Treaties coming out of the Washington Conference through the assembling of another petition signed by 16,000 ministers of various faiths.

The remainder of the year was devoted to preparations for a Campaign for International Cooperation, undertaken with the co-operation of the World Peace Foundation and the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. Teams of speakers went into twenty large cities throughout the States speaking on the following subjects.

- a) Entrance into the League of Nations, or some effective world association.
- b) The Outlawry of War.
- c) Adherence of the U. S. to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The teams laid the foundation for follow-up work as the out-growth of each major city, in ten lesser cities; each of these in turn organized meetings in five smaller towns.

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The Annual Convention for 1922 was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on "International Cooperation."

1923 saw the organizations working further on a campaign for the League of Nations, the World Court and an International Conference to discuss Economic questions. In order to give this organization the widest scope in educational institutions and churches the cooperation of the World Peace Foundation and the Federal Council was again enlisted.

The Annual Convention and Goodwill Congress, which has become the climax of the year's work, was this year held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on "America's Responsibility to the Permanent Court of International Justice."

During 1924 the Church Peace Union and World Alliance held a series of sectional and group conferences for the purpose of shaping public opinion in the interests of international understanding and peace. The most important of this series was held in Florida. Special speaking tours were also conducted throughout the Northwestern states in behalf of the adherence of the United States to the World Court.

The Annual Meeting was held in Buffalo, New York, on "Contributions to World Peace."

1925 saw the addition of Mr. Fred B. Smith and Mr. Harry N. Holmes to the staff of the World Alliance. With these added energies our scope was greatly widened in the field. Through them our organizations were able to extend their work more effectively into the service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, etc.) as well as in the schools and colleges. The World Alliance was augmented by Advisory Boards of laymen, women, clergymen, editors and statesmen, ready to give thought and force to our enterprises. This year the organizations again stressed the importance of the adherence to the World Court.

The Annual Meeting for this year was held in Detroit, Michigan, on the same topic as the previous year—"Contributions to World Peace."

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A Speaker's Bureau, to serve the churches, and the establishment of organized groups were other accomplishments of the year.

During 1926 efforts were directed toward combating compulsory military training in schools and colleges.

A series of Field Days were arranged by Mr. Holmes with the idea of further stimulating public opinion.

In an effort to reach some basis of unity in program, a Conference of sixty-five leaders representing the various groups working for international friendship, was held in Chicago.

The Annual Convention was held this year in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on "The Moral Issues of Disarmament."

The early part of 1927 was especially devoted to Field Days. These Days proved to be a splendid method of keeping up the interest and enthusiasm created by the Annual Meetings.

As soon as President Coolidge issued the invitation for the Three Power Naval Conference, the Church Peace Union and World Alliance turned their attention to preparing literature and laying plans for the furtherance of the work of the Conference. There was a wide circulation of informative material, and much public speaking on the subject of reduction and limitation of armament.

This year the Annual Convention was held in St. Louis, Missouri, on "Must We Have War?"

The outstanding event of the year 1928 was the fight against the Naval Appropriation Bill for building 71 new cruisers. It might not be immodest to claim that the work done through the churches and religious peace organizations had a great deal to do with the naval appropriation being cut to permit the building of only 16 instead of 71 cruisers.

During this year there was a cooperative movement on the part of the American and British branches of the Alliance for the prevention of competitive armament.

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Strenuous work was also done on behalf of the ratification of the Paris Peace Pact.

The Annual Convention for 1928 was held in New York City, New York, on the same topic as that of 1927—"Must We Have War?"

Our work during 1929, both in the office and in the field was devoted to work for the ratification of the Paris Peace Pact, and the reduction of armament as its natural sequence. Much preparatory work was done to inform public opinion on the Five Power Naval Conference to be held in London in 1930.

Work was also carried on in behalf of the World Court.

(It is in just such work as the above that our Corresponding Members can be and have been of vital help.)

Six Field Days were held in Ohio.

Nashville, Tennessee, was the scene of the Annual Convention this year, on "The New Internationalism."

In 1930, through the News Letter and special pamphlets, the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance set before the public facts concerning the Five Power Naval Conference, and suggested ways in which individuals might further the success of the Conference.

A special Council on Disarmament was formed, composed of 35 representative peace societies, in which our officers participated continuously.

We again made use of our Corresponding Members by requesting them to sign and obtain signatures for a Petition to the Senate for the immediate adherence to the World Court.

Following the mandate given at the Annual Meeting in Washington, Auxiliary Conventions were held in Cleveland, Ohio, and Dallas, Texas.

The Annual Convention was held in Washington, D. C. on "Carry on With the Pact."

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In 1931 work was still being done on the ratification of the World Court Protocols. Efforts were made to have a Special Session called for this purpose so that this might be disposed of before the General Disarmament Conference.

A great deal of preparatory educational work for the General Disarmament Conference was done in the office through a special pamphlet entitled "Disarmament", the News Letter, and other publications, as well as by our speakers in the field.

Further questions discussed by our field workers were implementing the Paris Peace Pact through

- a) a consultative pact
- b) a re-interpretation of neutrality

This year our Annual Meeting took place in Chicago, Illinois, on "Disarmament—Peace and Prosperity."

1932 Work for the General Disarmament Conference.

The Report of this Conference is given in another section of the general reports.

New York City was again the scene of our Annual Convention, on the theme "World Understanding and Economic Justice."

Because our Annual Goodwill Congresses have been fully reported annually I have touched very lightly on these meetings which have centered around Armistice Day since 1923. These Congresses have increased in importance and influence, both in attendance and speakers as the years have gone by. Judging by the interest in them displayed by the general public as well as the peace workers they have come to be regarded as a "high light" of each year's work.

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OUTSTANDING LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE CHURCH PEACE UNION AND WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

1922 — 1932

	Copies
Washington Conference Folders	19,000
Washington Treaties urging ratification	10,000
Mobilizing for Peace (book)	1,500
Peace Series, Nos. 1, 2, 3	40,000
Peace Series No. 4—Mobilizing for Peace (Merrill)	25,000
Building International Goodwill (book)	3,000
Geneva Conference on Disarmament	20,000
What Individuals Can do to further Geneva Conference	15,000
Peace Series No. 5—America's International Experiment (Hull)	4,000
How to Work for International Goodwill in your Community	3,000
Peace Series No. 6—The Next Step (Jefferson)	10,000
Peace Series No. 7—The Paris Peace Pact (Kellogg)	3,000
Symposium on Armament	6,225
Five Power Conference on Naval Armament	12,000
Bigger Guns or Better Homes	1,000
London Naval Treaty	8,000
Must We Have War (book)	6,000
Disarmament	20,000
Peace Series No. 8—Fighting Fire With Fire (O'Ryan)	500
American Cooperation	Since 1927 3,000 annually
Church Peace Union Reports	Since 1924 1,000 annually
Goodwill Lessons	1925-1932 6,000 total
World Friendship Lessons	1929-1932 2,000 total
News-Letter	1923-1932 300,000 approximately

CHILDREN'S MATERIAL AND EXHIBITS

Realizing the value of training the young mind toward the international ideal by visual means, the Peace through Art Committee of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship has published two series of picture Lessons entitled respectively the *Goodwill Lessons*, and the *World Friendship Lessons*. Since 1925 when these Lessons were first published, 8000 copies have been circulated in Sunday, secular and Vacation Schools, both in the United States and abroad.

An International Hope Chest, a small travelling exhibit, prepared with the idea of building up an international mind in young

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people, has been sent through many of the States, and has served as a nucleus for larger international exhibits.

Later a *World Interdependence Exhibit* was prepared and set up at both the Washington and Chicago Conventions. This is now a permanent exhibit which has been displayed by many groups in several states.

The Church Peace Union and World Alliance also acquired an electrically lighted graphic *Arbitration Chart*, which has been used at many assemblies, such as State Fairs, Councils on International Relations, etc.

In 1932 the Church Peace Union subsidised the World Peace Posters in their plan to place posters on the outdoor advertising billboards in many states, calling attention to the vital importance of the General Disarmament Conference. Our contribution went toward sixty boards in Florida and others in Ohio.

NEWS LETTER AND INFORMATION SERVICE

Through the years from 1923 to 1932, the policies and specific aims of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship have been backed up by the News Letter published bi-monthly. 300,000 copies of the News Letter have been circulated in that time.

The Information Service since its inception has assembled and distributed a vast amount of educational literature as debating material for universities, colleges, summer schools, young people's societies, and international groups. Literature and bibliographies have also been supplied to public libraries, divinity schools, boards of religious education, men's and women's clubs, churches and individuals. As an index to the amount of material sent out in a year, in 1930 alone 170,000 pieces of literature were circulated.

APPENDIX II

PLATFORM FOR THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE
WORLD ALLIANCE FOR 1933

The World Alliance platform for 1933 was presented at the Goodwill Congress in a report of the Committee upon Message and Recommendations, of which the Hon. George W. Wickersham was chairman. Following is the substance of this platform:

I. Definite international agreements supplementary to the Pact of Paris (Briand-Kellogg Treaty) binding all the nations of the world:

1. To consult together in case of a threatened violation of the pact.
2. To withhold by joint and simultaneous embargoes the shipment of munitions and essential materials of war from their boundaries to any nation which has violated the pact.
3. To embargo the extension of credit for war supplies to a violator of the pact.

Serious consideration will be given to the action of the League of Nations upon the report of the Lytton Commission of the causes and methods of Japan's course in Manchuria and Shanghai, and the Alliance earnestly hopes that the action of the League will suffice to settle the lamentable dispute between China and Japan in a way that will be accepted by the two countries immediately concerned and by the public opinion of the world.

II. A substantial and immediate reduction in armaments along the lines suggested to the Geneva conference by President Hoover.

III. Emphasis laid on importance of the proposed World Economic Conference and reconsideration and readjustment by the United States of the inter-governmental war debts in the interests of the United States and of international justice.

IV. Endorsement of "Hoover Doctrine" of non-recognition

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of any gains brought about by any nation or nations in violation of accepted international agreements.

V. Abolition of the private manufacture and sale of arms and munitions and their transfer to government agencies under international control.

VI. Closer cooperation with the League of Nations and further study of the ways and means by which the United States may become a full member.

VII. Adhesion of the United States to the World Court.

VIII. Protest against military training in American schools and colleges other than military and naval institutions.

IX. Moral disarmament—"a new psychology, favorable to peace and opposed to war in any form."

